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# Watergate Legacy: Reform and Gridlock

By John E. Yang  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Class of '74 — the army of reform-minded lawmakers swept into the House of Representatives in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal — still is regarded with reverence by many on Capitol Hill.

They were 92 strong, the largest number of House freshmen since 1948. They were young and inexperienced, and they were sent to Washington to change things.

Change things they did. Challenging the strict seniority rules of the House, they toppled once-powerful Southern Democratic committee chairmen. They spread power more broadly through a proliferation of new subcommittees and an enlargement of staffs. They helped enact sweeping campaign contribution and financial disclosure changes.

The changes, and the sense of achievement they felt, are among the most enduring legacies of the discovery of the Watergate burglary 20 years ago this week.

"It was a glory time," said a class member, Senator Timothy E. Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, who is retiring this year. "There was a tremendous sense of mutual mission. You really had a sense of why you were there and what you were doing." He added: "Not at all like now."

Now, nearly two decades later, the accomplishments of the Class of '74 are seen by critics as having contributed significantly — if unintentionally — to governmental gridlock in Washington. And voter discontent promises to produce another generational turnover on Capitol Hill.

"All they did was screw it up," Gerald R. Ford, a former president and a former House minority leader, said in a recent speech about the impact of the Class of '74 on Congress. "They took away the benefits of seniority, which had created stability." He added: "They undercut the capability of the leadership, both Democrat and Republican."

The net result, he said, is that "the House, in my judgment, has lost its capability to effectively handle the problems that are on its doorstep."

Fewer than half of the new lawmakers that year had legislative experience, the lowest percentage in a quarter-century. They brought the average age of House members below 50 for the first time since World War II. Seventy-five of them

were Democrats, almost two-thirds holding seats that had been Republican.

Many of the freshmen Democrats were social activists who transferred their activism to Congress. Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut, now in the Senate, was a 30-year-old former Peace Corps volunteer in the Dominican Republic. His Connecticut colleague, Toby Moffatt, now a Washington lobbyist, also was 30 and had run a grass-roots citizens action group for Ralph Nader. Tom Harkin, also

Sometimes, their early overhaul attempts dismayed them, as when they turned their sights to the House power structure. "We wanted to keep the chairmen from having as much power as they did," Mr. Waxman said. "We wanted to make sure the seniority system wasn't absolute and that more power could be put in the hands of the Democratic caucus and the leaders, so important, progressive legislation could move."

House Democratic Caucus rules were changed to require that committee chairmen be elected by secret ballot at the beginning of each new Congress. Previously, one-fifth of the caucus was needed to force a vote on a chairman.

The Democratic Class of '74 asked all the chairmen to address it in preparation for the vote. Most refused. Then, the freshmen announced they would not vote for any chairman who did not comply. One by one, these proud, powerful lords of Congress relented.

The late House Armed Services Committee Chairman, F. Edward Hebert, Democrat of Louisiana, probably sealed his fate when he

usually grew impatient with the grilling he was getting, rose from his seat and growled: "All right, boys and girls, let me tell you what it's really like here."

House Democrats ousted him, 144 to 141.

While the changes, all in the name of making the House more democratic, were widely lauded, there is now a feeling among many that they also contributed to make it more unwieldy and difficult to manage in a variety of ways.

Nearly 20 years later, the Class of '74 is older, wiser and, in some cases, frustrated and angry.

• Twenty-eight have been defeated for re-election to the House, including two so far this year.

• Twenty-four chose not to seek re-election to the House — some to seek higher office — and three are retiring this year.

• Four were caught in scandal, including two who became ensnared in Abscam.

• Nine of them had more than 100 overdrafts each from the House Bank between July 1, 1988, and Oct. 3, 1991, this year's Capitol Hill scandal.

**'The House, in my judgment, has lost its capability to effectively handle the problems that are on its doorstep.'**

Gerald R. Ford

now in the Senate, was a 34-year-old legal aid attorney in Iowa.

The class included some of today's most influential lawmakers: George Miller, Democrat of California, the Interior Committee chairman; Representative Willis D. Gradison Jr. of Ohio, the ranking Republican on the budget committee and a senior member of the Ways and Means Committee; and Representative Henry A. Waxman, Democrat of California, chairman of the Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health and the environment.

The new House Democrats first met as a group one December day in 1974. One by one, each told how he or she — there were just four women — had gotten there and what each wanted to do. They spoke of ending the war in Vietnam and overhauling the House, which, because of the seniority system, was dominated by conservative Southerners, most of whom occupied safe seats.

They had the voting strength to do most of what they wanted. They represented more than a quarter of House Democrats and nearly a fifth of the entire House. They supplied the troops that veteran reformers needed to push through some of the broadest changes in House procedures in nearly three decades.

# Perot's Unnerving Political Effect Eliminates June Siesta

By Robin Toner  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The clear lesson so far about a three-way presidential campaign is that there are no intermissions.

So the ordinarily languid month of June, falling between the end of the primaries and the beginning of the conventions, has become a season of elbowing, risk-taking and struggling for position.

As recently as a few weeks ago, the campaigns of President George Bush and Bill Clinton seemed utterly confounded by the dynamics of this race. Now, prodded by Ross Perot, they are making decisions and taking action.

The Bush campaign, unable to reverse the president's slide in the polls, is trying at least to stabilize his political condition by making Mr. Perot seem like a frightening, unacceptable alternative.

The Clinton campaign, after weeks of drift, is trying to regain attention by giving the governor of Arkansas an edge and defining him as something more than just another

politician — to wit, a Democratic nominee willing to go before the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson's Rainbow Coalition and chide it for racial insensitivity — toward whites.

The Perot campaign, now consistently leading in polls, is trying to let Perot be Perot, while fending off the follow-up questions that his advisers know he is not yet ready for.

Those who doubt the intensity of this race, five months before Election Day, need only listen to the attacks on Mr. Perot now coming from the president's surrogates.

Rich Bond, the Republican Party's national chairman, pointed the way last week in a speech to a convention of bankers.

"If you want a vague, mysterious and authoritarian figure," he said, with "the risk factor that will be involved in making that choice for this nation and this world over the next four years, then your man is Ross Perot."

It is a method used against past Democratic nominees with considerable success, particularly Michael S. Dukakis in 1988.

This strategy dovetails with the belief of top Bush advisers, including the campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, that this election will still, in the end, come down to trust and leadership traits.

While the surrogates are busy slashing and burning, Mr. Bush is trying to stay above it all.

With a series of foreign policy events, beginning with last week's trip to Panama and Rio de Janeiro, the Bush campaign hoped to highlight his image as a steady commander in chief. But last week's trip was less than triumphant, beginning with the episode of tear gas wafting over Mr. Bush in Panama.

Charles Black, a campaign aide, has made it clear in recent days that the Bush campaign will try to chip away at Mr. Perot's coalition along

ideological lines, through issues like support for abortion rights and his opposition to the Gulf War.

In the Democratic Party, meanwhile, there are voices urging Mr. Clinton to move left and focus similar attention on his party's base. The most prominent, perhaps, is Mr. Jackson, who used his Rainbow Coalition meeting over the weekend to make the case for the new arithmetic of a three-way race, which, he feels, could provide victory by galvanizing and turning out the Democratic core voter.

Mr. Clinton countered with a speech on the "remarkable commonality" between the group's goals and his own, like a need to reinvest in the nation's economy and its people.

But he also sought to signal his independence, chiding the group for giving a platform to Sister Souljah, a rap performer who was quoted by The Washington Post as

saying after the riot in Los Angeles, "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?"

Mr. Clinton stuck by his criticism Monday, saying Sister Souljah's comments were an example of "how profoundly alienated and divided some of us are." His remarks, on "CBS This Morning," were reported by The Associated Press from New York.

"I wouldn't call it an attack," Mr. Clinton added. "I just disagreed with her remarks. Mr. Clinton said his remark was not aimed at white, suburban voters. 'I fail to see how that's pandering. That's bringing the people together.'"

Mr. Clinton is trying to reclaim the themes and the image he began with in this campaign, when he succeeded in casting himself as a new kind of Democrat, gutsy enough to break with the old orthodoxies, not beholden to conven-

tion politics and willing to stand up to constituents like Mr. Jackson.

This, of course, is the very position now held by Mr. Perot.

Allies said Mr. Clinton would also be refocusing his often meandering message with a single-minded emphasis on economics, which his strategists believe will remain the driving issue of this campaign.

The Democrats, whose candidate is third in the polls, have not embarked on a campaign of attacking Mr. Perot with the intensity the Republicans have.

The Clinton campaign views much of Mr. Perot's support as an anti-Bush vote that could, eventually, come their way.

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HANDS ACROSS THE DIVIDE IN L.A. — A few of the more than 10,000 people who linked hands to form a 10-mile chain in neighborhoods hardest hit by the Los Angeles riots. The event, sponsored by religious groups, involved members of all races.

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# Dark Secrets Spill From Soviet Archives

By Serge Schmemmann  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Like other post-totalitarian societies before it, Russia has fallen heir to a vast trove of secrets from a fallen dictatorship, a legacy as intriguing and instructive as it is deeply troubling. Almost daily the dark secrets trickle out: a plea from the censors that they need new equipment to monitor the modems and faxes of foreign correspondents, an order from the Central Committee to arm Palestinian terrorists or to send money to the Polish Communist Party as recently as October 1990.

But with the sensationalism come painful questions that go to the heart of a newly liberated society's relationship to its past. Might the information prove more damaging than enlightening? Can a society only just emerging from bondage cope with the full weight of its past, in particular with the identification of its tormentors?

Finally, is there anything really new that people who have lived in this world can learn from the archives?

"We think that when we open these documents, we'll learn things we never knew," said Rndn' G. Pikhoya, a history professor who as head of Russia's Committee on Archival Affairs has responsibility over all the files of the old Soviet state. "But when we look we find we know it all, and lots that we don't want to know."

Even as the debate goes on, however, the secrets come out. This week, an exhibit of 300 documents from all periods of the Soviet state opens at the Library of Congress in Washington.

They range from a desperate plea for life from the Bolshevik Nikolai Bukharin, soon to be shot in the Great Purge, to a report by the Novosti press agency on its efforts to counter the award of the Nobel Prize to Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, to a report from the KGB outlining serious construction flaws in the Chernobyl nuclear power station, seven years before one reactor there erupted.

James H. Billington, the librarian of Congress, said in an interview that this exhibit was meant to amplify aspects of Soviet history, but he acknowledged that specialists were unlikely to find anything startling.

Mr. Billington, a scholar of Russian history, said he believed that in earlier years Soviet leaders like Vyacheslav M. Molotov destroyed important documents and that others, like Stalin, were not in the habit of putting their more controversial actions in writing.

In addition, the KGB so far has been reticent about fully opening its archives; the full Foreign Ministry archives also have not been made available.

In Moscow, a Constitutional Court hearing against the Communist Party has opened cracks in the most current and secret of archives, the Special File of the Central Committee.

The pickings will not be unrestricted: Mr. Pikhoya and the minister of press and mass information, Mikhail N. Poltoranin, said at a news conference last week that documents of the past 30 years would be screened for state secrets or violations of privacy.

But several documents on exhibit at the Center for the Preservation of Contemporary Documents, at the old Central Committee Archive, give provocative glimpses.

In one document, dated July 7, 1986, two months after the Chernobyl accident, the Central Committee advises against sending representatives to a conference convened by the industrialist Armand Flammar in order not to reveal certain Soviet materials.

Another, from August 1990, suggests that party workers should start paying something for the food supplied by the KGB.

There are about 4.5 million such papers in the Special File,

the officials said, and what becomes abundantly clear from them is confirmation that the Communist Party, almost from the outset, tried to control every last corner of life in the Soviet Union.

A letter from Lenin to Stalin in July 1922 orders the immediate deportation of a whole list of perceived enemies: "Let's purge Russia for a long while!" writes the Bolshevik chief.

In 1976, Yuri V. Andropov reports on the rise of "anti-social elements" under the guise of dissidents, and in 1989, with *glasnost* in full bloom, the Politburo is still railing against *Komsomolskaya Pravda* for its "anti-Soviet" stance.

It is arguable, however, that such facts only give texture to a broad truth about Communist rule that has long been known. Many of the true mysteries of the 70 years of Communist rule may never become known.

For one thing, the KGB, scaled down and renamed the Russian Ministry of Security, has divulged only a few select files and shows no intention of giving out "operational" information or naming any informers.

For example, nothing the KGB has disbursed puts to final rest questions about the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who disappeared in Soviet captivity.

Nothing reveals whether Stalin himself ordered the death of Sergei Kirov, the Leningrad party chief whose assassination gave the starting signal for the Great Purge. The Kirov personnel file

hand of an enemy of the working class."

Rem A. Usikov, director of the Center for the Preservation of Contemporary Documents, said Mr. Billington, the librarian of Congress, had specifically requested evidence that Stalin had ordered Mr. Kirov killed.

Mr. Pikhoya further noted that KGB files were periodically purged, and he acknowledged that some were probably destroyed or stolen in the nine-months since the failed August coup. Some, he said, had turned up in the press abroad.

A greater obstacle is the sheer volume. Like other totalitarian regimes, the Communist state believed it would live for a thousand years, so it smugly accumulated mountains of paper for its annotated to study, ever suspecting that the "ideological foe" would get there so soon.

By conservative estimates the Central Committee archives embrace more than 100 million files, said Mr. Usikov, a veteran of three decades in the archives. "Everything was decided here, so there's a file on everything," he said.

Another problem is that Russia still has no law on state secrets. There is also no law on freedom of information similar to those in Czechoslovakia or Germany giving citizens the right to see information on themselves.

The most difficult question, however, is neither technical nor legal. As the Russians discovered when Stalin died, or the Germans after Hitler fell, a society reacts in complex ways to its past. Many simply want to forget and get on with life.

The painful fact is that the Soviet state and its political police worked incessantly to co-opt society into its repressive apparatus, and not many Russians or institutions can say they were untouched by the evil.

For people reared in this society, moreover, many of the "secret" documents are only painful echoes of a world they knew too well — the oppressive directives, the double-speak of Pravda, the marathon lies at Communist congresses, the bloated flattery of corrupt dictators.

Beguiling, troubling, the files are also potentially dangerous. So long as the files remain largely closed, the temptation to leak information for money or for political reasons remains great.



Azerbaijanis who fled the warfare in their homeland found refuge in a camp with an old Soviet propaganda poster glorifying soldiers.

## Russia Warns It May Aid South Ossetia

By Eleanor Randolph  
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The head of Russia's parliament, Ruslan I. Khasbulatov, warned Monday that Russian troops might be sent to Georgia to protect people in the mountainous enclave of South Ossetia who are seeking to be reunited with Russia.

But the Georgian leader, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, called the speaker's comments "insulting" and said that such comments "play into the hands of extremism, regardless of what national clothes it wears."

The statement by Mr. Khasbulatov, which Russian television labeled "a risky step," suddenly raised the stakes on one of the many small ethnic battles that have been raging along the borders of the former Soviet republics.

The South Ossetians, who have been fighting for independence from Georgia, have asked to be

reunited with North Ossetia, across the border in Russia.

If Mr. Khasbulatov persuades the Russians to go to the aid of the Ossetians, it would pit Russian troops directly against Georgians.

In South Ossetia, where hundreds of people have been killed since early last year, there were reports Monday of Georgian soldiers attacking people who had not yet fled.

The Itar-Tass press agency reported that Georgian soldiers had shelled the South Ossetian capital, Tskhinvali, with rockets, heavy artillery and mortars.

Mr. Khasbulatov warned that if Georgians did not agree to a ceasefire and take part in new negotiations over the remote mountainous region, the Russian parliament "may find itself forced to immediately consider the question of annexing" Ossetia to Russia.

The conflict "can no longer be regarded as a purely domestic affair of Georgia," he said. "It directly

affects the state interests of Russia."

Both the press agency and the newspaper Izvestia interpreted Mr. Khasbulatov's statement as accusing the Georgians of "genocide" against South Ossetians.

Mr. Shevardnadze said he found Mr. Khasbulatov's statement "insulting" because there had been terrorist attacks against Georgians in the last few days.

"We are taking a tremendous effort to extinguish the flames of senseless conflict in the region," he added. "In the framework of this situation, Khasbulatov's statement broadly addressed to the citizens of Russia, is like another fuse set off close to a powderkeg."

Mr. Shevardnadze also accused Mr. Khasbulatov of making a "populist and demagogic statement designed for 'certain circles' that are conspicuously raising their heads at this time."

He said that there were extremists

on both sides and that Mr. Khasbulatov's statements could "disrupt" talks between Russia and Georgia on South Ossetia.

**Armenians Said to Retreat**  
Azerbaijani units using tanks and helicopters pushed Armenians from a northeastern area of Nagorno-Karabakh they had occupied for months in the secesaw battle for the region, The Associated Press reported from Moscow.

Azerbaijani forces occupied the last two Armenian villages in the Shamyan region of Nagorno-Karabakh, the Interfax news agency reported. Fighting also flared in the Mardakert region with unspecified casualties.


Armenian officials in Nagorno-Karabakh put the death toll on Monday at 36. At least 100 tanks and other armored vehicles joined the assault in the Shamyan region, according to an aide to the Armenian president.

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YAKUZA: Once-Fringe Mob Muscles In on Economy JAPAN:

(Continued from page 1) But he was short on sympathy for the attack on Mr. Itami... "First of all, nobody would put a cockroach in a restaurant's food like that," he said.

TORTOISES: A Shell Game

(Continued from page 1) nightmare is the real estate developer... Today, if property is determined to harbor tortoises, the developer can kill them and write the state of Florida a large check.

YELTSIN: Choice of Gaidar a Signal of Assurance on Market Reforms

(Continued from page 1) was about to impose on his hard-pressed country... But at a stormy session of the Russian parliament in April, conservatives who were upset by privatization and other elements of reform, challenged Mr. Yeltsin's authority and bitterly attacked Mr. Gaidar.

YELTSIN: Choice of Gaidar a Signal of Assurance on Market Reforms

(Continued from page 1) other decrees on Monday that were designed to bolster the movement toward a market economy... Several are intended to strengthen the ruble as the government prepares to let it float on international money markets.

YELTSIN: Choice of Gaidar a Signal of Assurance on Market Reforms

(Continued from page 1) night with the Russian foreign minister, Andrei V. Kozyrev... Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker both declined to say what was causing the hangup. But Mr. Bush said he was aware of the pressures on Mr. Yeltsin as the United States sought to scrap all land-based missiles with multiple warheads.

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Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, expressing his thanks to legislators after the bill passed permitting Japan to send troops abroad.

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KIDNAP: Seizures Legal

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Clockwise from top left: Marie Perle, Suzanne Menkes, and a woman in a hat.

Marie Perle

PARIS — Marie Perle, the 65-year-old linguist and translator, is organizing a new immigration charity...

SUZ MENKES

PARIS — Suzanne Menkes, the 65-year-old fashion designer, is planning a new collection...

STYLE MAKERS

PARIS — The event was inspired by Gianni Versace and took a sullen all-star gala event...

Fashion vs. AIDS

PARIS — The event was inspired by Gianni Versace and took a sullen all-star gala event...

ITALIANS JOIN FIGHT

PARIS — The event was inspired by Gianni Versace and took a sullen all-star gala event...

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Table of international fund listings with columns for fund names, currencies, and prices.

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Style

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International Herald Tribune Tuesday, June 16, 1992 Page 7



Clockwise from top center: Baron et Baronne Guy de Rothschild; Marie-Hélène at 1969 Oriental ball; Lynn Wyatt and Marc Bohan; Arielle Dombasle; Ira von Furstenberg; Princess Michael of Kent; Empress Farah.

Marie-Hélène de Rothschild: Society's Star Choreographer

Paris — If the job were on offer, the ad might read like this: Supreme organizer with wacky imagination, charm, substantial private means — preference to titled applicants.

ceiling, drapes from peach through nectarine fluttering at the windows, and table-settings of miniature cypresses clustered round a pond in which swam real goldfish.

stage since she married into the famous family in 1957 and became, in her husband's words, "more Rothschild than me".

scribes de Rodé's Bal Oriental of 1969 as the role model — and the one she enjoyed the most "because I didn't do it".

Friends of the Opéra-Comique trying to restore the bijou theater to its baroque glory, Féday's soirée was executed by the party planner Pierre Célyron, as her parties are now

she has struggled from her sick bed. A friend watched her sitting at a Yves Saint Laurent couture show gasping for breath.

All her regular guests talk of an extraordinary ability to mix people, weaving the political with the social. They speak, too, of her endearing enthusiasm coupled with a steely will.

photographs — many taken by Cecil Beaton — of transient moments seized into the memory of guests.

STYLE MAKERS

Fashion vs. AIDS ITALIANS JOIN FIGHT

MILAN — The spirit was willing but the weather was wicked when the Italian fashion family came together to fight AIDS.

ANLAIDS, the Italian national association in the struggle against AIDS, and LIFE, an association that assists HIV-positive children.

Designers like Gaultier, who are heroes to an entire generation, have realized that AIDS is a cause not only close to fashion's own heart.

offers clothes by mostly junior names, but including Courrèges, Daniel Hechter, Emmanuelle Khanh, Kookaï and stylish accessories-supplier Renault Pellegrino.

on Sale, a benefit with the support of Seventh Avenue for a fashion market open to the public in 1991

Suzy Menkes

HANAE MORI PARIS SALES FROM JUNE 16th TO JUNE 30th 17-19, AVENUE MONTAIGNE, 75008 PARIS

Solution to Puzzle of June 6-7

Visiting New York City? Gramercy Park Hotel

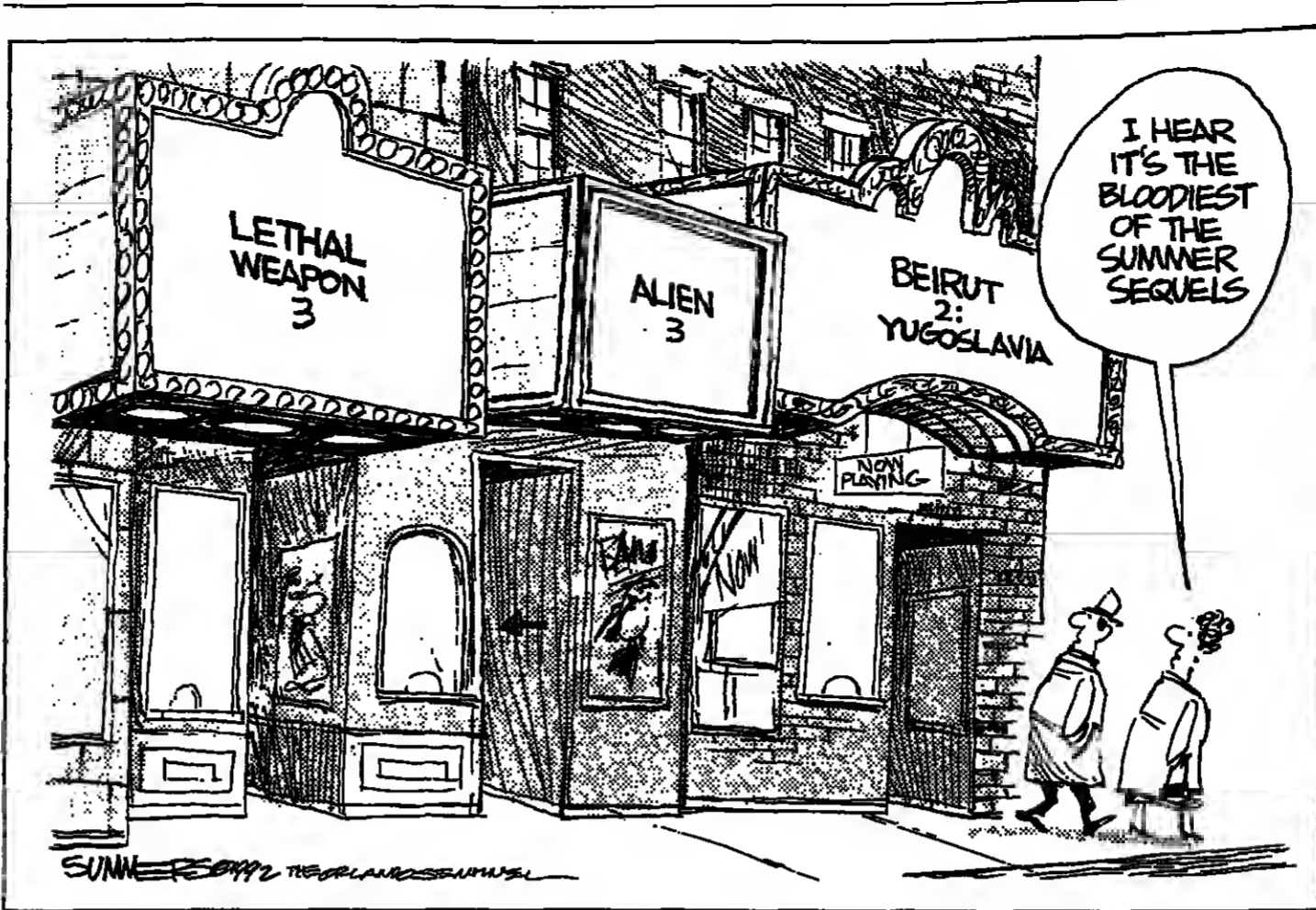
Solution to Puzzle of June 15

DOWN

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Americans and Russians

When the Marshall Plan was before Congress 44 years ago, it was pushed to passage by the pressure of the Soviet threat...



Russia's President Needs an American Consensus

WASHINGTON — Boris Yeltsin's visit to Washington offers a unique opportunity for the United States to put its policy toward the independent states of the former Soviet Union on the right track...

Rethinking U.S.-Israeli Relations

By Leslie H. Gelb. JERUSALEM — Leaders here for Jews have always had an eye on the Israeli tail and the American dog...

Baltic Responsibilities

By peaceful and principled resistance, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania wrested back their independence last August...

Rio Sketched the Road

It is tempting to deride the just completed Earth Summit as a noisy, irrelevant circus. Tempting, but wrong, and a disservice to the environmental challenges ahead...

Help Him Stand Up to Russian Hawks

WASHINGTON — When Boris Yeltsin meets with George Bush at the White House this Tuesday, the most controversial issue in Russian foreign policy will probably not even be on the agenda...

Other Comment

Pressure on the Summit. A recent statement by Boris Yeltsin on his intention not to stand for the presidency in 1996 might complicate the summit...

Perot Triggers a Social Security Trap

WASHINGTON — When Barney Goldwater floated the notion that Social Security should be financed voluntarily, he put the fear of destitution into his most dedicated supporters...

1912: Flag Day Address

WASHINGTON — In his "Flag Day" speech at the foot of the Washington monument, President Wilson delivered a masterly exposé of the peace intrigue by which Germany plans to secure territory she now occupies in Europe...

1922: Claimed by Africa

LONDON — Africa is fruitful in tragedy. Captain Stairs, commander of the Katanga expedition, died at Chinde on his way down the mouth of the Zambezi river...

1942: No to British Rule

WARDHA, India — [From our New York edition:] Mohandas K. Gandhi declared today [June 15] that he will soon launch a movement against British rule in India that "will be felt by the whole world"...

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. KATHARINE GRAHAM, ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERG Co-Chairmen. LEE W. HUEBNER, Publisher...

Watergate. WASHINGTON — Watergate was the most serious scandal in the history of the American presidency. It was a scandal that changed the way we think about government and politics...



OPINION

Watergate Recalled: The Story Of a Lifetime Isn't Finished

By Benjamin C. Bradlee
The writer, now vice president at large, was executive editor of The Washington Post from 1968 to 1991.

stressed what a favor he was doing for us. He recalled the length and quality of our friendship. Finally he was persuaded, and we were delighted that the visuals in Mr. Cronkite's great pair of broadcasts consisted almost entirely of montages of Post front pages. Still, it was not until well into the winter of 1973 that the rest of the American press not only joined the hunt for the truth but contributed solid, original reporting of their own.

The Post had a strange source, revealed here for the first time, in Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

advisory board, on which I sat, the results staggered me. Five newspapers had been selected as finalists, but not The Washington Post.

When I arrived at Pulitzer headquarters at Columbia University for the prize decisions, I was greeted by my fellow board members Newbold Noyes, editor of the Washington Star, and James (Scotty) Reston, the dean of Washington correspondents from The New York Times. They told me they had decided that the Post should be granted the public service award and they intended to overrule the jury.

That was great, I thought, but it was only later that I learned the price. The advisory board overruled two of the three other prizes that juries had recommended for Post reporters and gave them to others.

By this time, the press was united in pursuit of the story of a lifetime, and the government was united in covering it up. Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein were refining their most important single contribution to American journalism — persistence. They had no qualms about calling a source back and back and back. And, of course, their persistence paid off.

Looking back, it is easy to forget that The Post published more than 300 Watergate stories. Each was a comparatively small slice of an apple whose size we were to recognize only later. During that first summer (1972), we felt lonely. Few of our colleagues outside The Post were with us. We did everything but keep Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's heads in a pail of water until they produced more stories — as they did week after week. But we waited in vain for other papers to pick up the story.

Only toward the end of October 1972, when Walter Cronkite of CBS devoted two consecutive news broadcasts to Watergate, did many editors begin to take The Post's Watergate coverage seriously. I remember the day Gordon Manning, then a big cheese at CBS News, now at NBC and a former colleague of mine at Newsweek, called up with the good news. Mr. Cronkite was going to make us famous, Mr. Manning said. He was going to pull our chestnuts out of the fire.

The price for this wonderful gift, Mr. Manning announced, was the documents. "We need all the documents," he said. "Television is a visual medium." I told him we had no documents, we had never had any, it was all original reporting. He

never believing — and keeping out of the paper — stories about the efforts of the White House "plumbers" to discredit Senator Edward Kennedy. I remember specifically underestimating the importance of the White House tapes when I first heard that they existed.

We worked incredibly long hours — especially Mr. Woodward; Mr. Bernstein; Howard Simon, the managing editor; Len Downie, the deputy metropolitan editor; and Barry Sussman, the city editor. We could almost feel public support growing despite occasional low moments.

The lowest moment came over our story about a \$350,000 slush fund controlled by the White House chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, from the White House. We had reported that a Nixon campaign official, Hugh Sloan, had testified about the fund to the federal grand jury investigating Watergate.

We watched the news a lot in those days to see how television was playing our stories, and we were all horrified one morning to see Dan Schorr of CBS show a microphone into Mr. Sloan's face and to hear him deny that he had said anything to the grand jury.

We told Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein to find out what had gone wrong. What had gone wrong was that Mr. Sloan had told the prosecutor, Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen, about the slush fund, but Mr. Petersen had not questioned him on that subject before the grand jury. We wondered why. Later we learned that the slush fund had \$700,000 in it, not \$350,000.

Once the Senate hearings started, followed inevitably by the impeachment investigation in the House, we began to think that it would take the departure of President Nixon to unravel the case. For months I had worried that it would end up as a tie — the press claiming one thing, the president claiming another and the public splitting along party lines.

By early August 1974 it began to look as though Mr. Nixon would leave one way or another. The Post had a strange source, revealed here for the first time, in Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona. With the Senate minority leader, Hugh Scott, and the House minority leader John Rhodes, Mr. Goldwater made a visit to the White House to give Mr. Nixon the bad news: He did not have the votes to prevent impeachment.

When Mr. Goldwater called after that meeting, it was to warn me against writing something that would make Mr. Nixon feel that he was trapped. "He is trapped, but don't you bastards say it," is the way Mr. Goldwater put it. Soon after that, we had a staff



"When you awaken, you won't recall Watergate."

meeting to warn against any public displays in connection with the resolution of the case. Anything that could be interpreted as gloating or rejoicing was worthy of a firing, if not a firing squad. We decided to give no interviews, to allow no television cameras in the Post building and to make no statements.

And suddenly it was over. The most intense moment of all our lives. The president had resigned. I left town almost immediately for an isolated job cabin in West Virginia to finish a book about John Kennedy. A month later I went on a

long vacation that Katherine Graham, the publisher who had stood beside us all the way, had decided we all deserved. I chose the jungles of Brazil because I thought at least there would be no talk of Watergate.

When we landed in Manaus, two journalists speaking in heavy German accents met us at the bottom of the landing ramp. I heard the words "Haldeman" and "Enrichman" — they were asking about something Mr. Haldeman had said to John Enrichman. "What did he mean?" they wanted to know. God knows.

Brown stung America's liberal elite where it lives: Hollywood, network television and national newspapers. Mr. Baker writes that no one is against "love, marriage and family." The liberals in Hollywood, the media and the U.S. Congress have been attacking the family for years by pushing an agenda that favors abortion on demand, mothers in combat, "no-fault" divorce, gay and lesbian "marriages," so called safe promiscuity, value-free education and secular humanism.

There is a civil war of values raging in the United States. Dan Quayle had the courage to take the conservative stand to the American people.

BRADLEY J. PELMAN, Toronto. JOHN J. MCCARTHY Jr., Republicans Abroad, Geneva.

to draw attention to the case of the Vietnamese Roman Catholic Brother John Mai Huu Nghi, now 60 years old, detained in the Long Khan camp, Dong Nai. He was arrested with 22 other Catholics in 1987. After three years of hard labor, he still faces another 15 years in detention.

We urge that appeals be addressed to the Vietnamese authorities for the immediate release of these detainees, who have only practiced their religion in a peaceful way, and who are to be considered prisoners of conscience.

We feel sure that the gesture of giving these men back their freedom would be welcomed by international opinion as a positive step by Vietnam, which these days is opening up for international investment and normal diplomatic relations with the rest of the world.

KARIN GAWELL, Lidings, Sweden. LARRY SHAPIRO, Calgary, Alberta.

There is a civil war of values raging in the United States. Dan Quayle had the courage to take the conservative stand to the American people.

The Movie Got the Mood Right

By Ken Ringle

WASHINGTON — It changes names, alters facts, eliminates crucial historical figures and mythologizes others. It overglamorizes reporting, oversimplifies editing and makes power appear the only proper subject for a newsman's pen.

But 20 years after Watergate, "All the President's Men" remains the best film ever made about the craft of journalism and an eerily accurate evocation of the mood and psychology — if not the details — of that byzantine presidential deceit and its unmaking.

For those of us who lived through those draining, mesmerizing, pulse-racing days at The Washington Post a generation ago, there is both wonder and discomfort in that realization. Wonder because few of us ever hoped for as three-dimensional a portrait from Hollywood; discomfort because most journalists in those days thought of themselves as chroniclers of events, not major players. To revisit the 1974 film is to be reminded how much in our profession — and at The Post — the film helped change, not always for the better.

If "All the President's Men" brought a kind of final public absolution to a Washington Post economically battered and publicly reviled by the Nixon White House, it also brought an institutional self-consciousness. We may not have been a better paper before Hollywood discovered us, but we were probably less pompous and we certainly had more fun.

Little of that fun is evident in the movie, of course, which makes journalism out to be such a humorless, single-minded — though

vaguely glamorous — calling that it subsequently attracted to the profession legions of humorless, single-minded young people vaguely in search of glamour. Once they would have all become lawyers.

The factual deficiencies of "All the President's Men" are all too obvious to people obsessed with details, as journalists tend to be. The most grievous example is the dramatic absence of The Post's city editor, Barry Sussman, who played a vital role in helping reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein piece their discoveries into a mean-

ingful pattern but was entirely written out of the film. Likewise, the analytical role of the late Howard Simon, the Post's much loved and resourceful managing editor 20 years ago, is trivialized almost to idiocy by William Goldman's screenplay and by a befuddled performance by Martin Balsam. Yet Mr. Simon was from first to last the senior editor most involved in the day-to-day progress of the Watergate story.

The most gratuitous visual inaccuracy in "All the President's Men" is the repeated depiction of Mr. Woodward and Mr. Bernstein (whom I sat beside at the time as a staff writer on the metro desk) laboring alone in an empty newsroom. The truth is that almost everyone in the newsroom (if not the building) from the humblest copy aide to the publisher, Katharine Graham —

who regularly dropped in to show support — became swept up in the Watergate coverage: staying late, fielding queries, passing along tips and offering assistance.

There are countless examples of such dramatic license in the film and both as viewers and as journalists we can probably thank God there are. For few of us thought it possible to fashion from the tangled opacity of the Watergate scandal a film even remotely watchable by those outside the ranks of the politically obsessed.

After all, there were more than 40 people involved in the Nixon administration alone — so many that the book version of "All the President's Men" needed the cast of character actors listed on the opening pages.

The supreme triumph of Mr. Goldman's Academy Award-winning screenplay is the way it slices through that help bed of interlocking relationships and, quite literally, cuts to the chase.

The viewer bears no more of the dozens of names involved than he needs to know, learns no more about each than is absolutely necessary. Instead, he is swept from one point in the story to the next by the reporter process of discovery, whose techniques are incomparably conveyed, and by the pressure the young reporters feel — first the pressures of competition, then the pressures of production, finally the pressures of fear and physical danger.

Time and again, most noticeably in a stunning keystone shot at the Library of Congress, the camera slowly draws back from a close-up to show the reporters or their curfewed by the vast mazes of the capital in which they search.

Time and again, a source lurks fearfully in the shadows and has to be lured into the light. The director, Alan Pakula, wisely keeps his Nixon administration villains offscreen — their power and inaccessibility hinted at by television images or by a voice on a telephone or by the opaque windows of darkly sinister limousines. Despite exceptional performances by Robert Redford, Dustin Hoffman, Mr. Bernstein and Jason Roberts as Mr. Bernstein's executive editor, Ben Bradlee, "All the President's Men" is largely carried by such nuances, by what it suggests and portends more than by what it says.

Twenty years after the fact, the film is still a remarkable portrait of Washington, and of journalism doing the very most that it can do.

The Washington Post. Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Wrong in Rio

President George Bush refused at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro to back a tough treaty on global warming and a treaty to protect endangered plants and animals, saying that to do so would cost jobs. He is wrong. Adopting policies friendly to our Earth will create thousands of jobs in trades and professions related to the renewal of the environment.

Someone should tell Mr. Bush that the issue of jobs, in a world where people cannot even go outside for fear of skin cancer, is a cynical irrelevance.

BRADLEY J. PELMAN, Toronto. JOHN J. MCCARTHY Jr., Republicans Abroad, Geneva.

'A Civil War of Values' Regarding "Government by Sitsom" (May 27) by Russell Baker. Dan Quayle's gibe at the values of the television character Murphy

A Detainee in Vietnam

We in the Swedish section of Amnesty International would like

Equitable Bad Taste

In response to "Bushman to Stay for the Olympics" (Sports, May 22): Of course, there is a way to satisfy both the city fathers of Banyoles, Spain, who understandably have re-stated pressure from the International Olympic Committee to remove the stuffed Kalahari bushman from the local museum, and the rest of the world, which is sensitive to the inherent racism in displaying a stuffed black man in a public space.

Recover the body of a newly deceased white man, send him to the nearest taxidermist and then exhibit him with his equivalent of the bushman's spear and shield — perhaps behind the wheel of a car, or at a computer terminal.

Displaying stuffed persons of different races would reduce a case of racism to one of atrocious taste.

KARIN GAWELL, Lidings, Sweden. LARRY SHAPIRO, Calgary, Alberta.

Advertisement for Sprint FONCARD, featuring the slogan 'It's true that, with the new Sprint FONCARD, you can only reach a small circle of people.' and a globe image.

Advertisement for Austria Center Vienna, featuring the headline 'Schnitzler orders a spritzer and schnitzel in a dream called Wien' and contact information.

Advertisement for The Annual Oxford Summit, featuring the headline 'Review the business climate of a world in turmoil in the calm of Oxford.' and dates 'SEPTEMBER 16-19, 1992'.

Advertisement for Herald Tribune and Oxford Analytica, featuring logos and contact information.











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ASIA/PACIFIC

Coke's New Venture Points to Vietnam A Lift for Singapore's Fraser

SINGAPORE — A joint venture between Coca-Cola Co. and Singapore's Fraser & Neave Ltd. gives Coke a head start in the soft drink business in Indonesia and should mean higher profits for F&N, analysts said Monday. "It makes money sense for them to utilize the venture to penetrate the regional market," said Low Siew Kheng, research director at Bering Securities, referring to Coca-Cola. The venture means the U.S. company does not have to inject fresh cash into Southeast Asia to build up exports to Indonesia, she said. That's important for Coke now because the company said two weeks ago it would invest nearly \$1 billion in Eastern and Central Europe from 1992 to 1995. Coca-Cola, the world's largest soft-drink company, agreed last month to pay 39.6 million Singapore dollars (\$24.4 million) to acquire a 25 percent stake in F&N's wholly owned subsidiary, F&N Beverage Pvt., and rename it as F&N Coca-Cola Pvt. The venture took over a modern F&N plant and will enable Coca-Cola to begin shipping its products to Vietnam, once the United States lifts its economic embargo, and its neighbors. The plant in Tuas, southwest Singapore, has been running at around half its capacity of 30 million cases a year since its opening in 1990, as expected contracts from Japan never materialized, analysts said. Officials at the joint venture, which includes nearby Brunei in its operations, said Coca-Cola also would acquire an interest in F&N's Malaysian soft drinks business, once Malaysia finalizes its new economic plan. Coca-Cola also has agreed to allow the venture to have more franchise or investment opportunities in other countries in the region. F&N, the leading supplier of soft drinks, dairy products and beer for Singapore and Malaysia, has been the franchised bottler for Coca-Cola in these markets since 1996. But in recent years its profitability has fallen because of heavy capital investment and diversification into the property business. F&N's near-term profit growth is expected to remain slow because the Singapore soft-drink market is small and the company still has to bear

Foster's Strikes Brewing Deal With Power

BRISBANE, Australia — Foster's Brewing Group Ltd. extended its control of the Australian beer industry on Monday by taking a half share in upstart Power Brewing Co. Foster's also said it had rejected a merger proposal from S.A. Brewing Holdings Ltd. It said the number businesses of S.A. Brewing were incompatible with its strategy of focusing exclusively on beer. S.A. Brewing, which has interests in brewing and manufacturing, proposed in May a share swap with Foster's to create a company with assets of about 10.6 billion Australian dollars (\$8.1 billion). Under the deal with Power, Foster's Carlton & United Breweries unit is forming a joint venture with Power to acquire Power's brewery and its beer brands for 90 million dollars. (AFP, Reuters)

Poor Outlook Rattles Tokyo Stocks Sink as Fears of Lower Profits Grow

TOKYO — The sharp fall in stocks on Monday — to their lowest level in nearly two months — stems from a growing fear that corporate profits in the coming year will be blue. The flight from blue chips followed a quarterly Bank of Japan economic survey showing that business confidence has dropped to a five-year low. The benchmark Nikkei 225 average fell 430.45 points, or 2.48 percent, to close at 16,953.23, its lowest closing level since 16,839.17, on April 22. The broader Topix index of all issues on the Tokyo Stock Exchange's first section declined 22.89 points, or 1.72 percent, to 1,305.47. There was still no indication that the Bank of Japan would soon lower interest rates to stimulate the economy, which is mired in a slump. A Bank of Japan official said that despite the gloomy mood, a change in the bank's monetary policy to boost the economy was not warranted at this time. Because the business confidence figures released late last week were so low, speculation has grown that many leading businesses will reduce their earnings forecasts in coming months, weakening stocks. This result suggests lower profits, said Brad Bauer, a trader at Prudential Securities. "Right now, the main concern is the outlook on corporate profits." It is inevitable that corporate profits will be weaker than companies' forecasts, said Peter Rawle, a Japan regional strategist at Smith New Court Far East. Mr. Rawle forecast that current profit will decline by 12 percent on average for the year ending March 1993, compared with average company forecasts for a decline of 0.5 percent. In the year ended March 1992, current profit actually fell by an average of 16 percent. Mr. Rawle's outlook is in line with those of most Japanese researchers. Sanjo Economic Research Institute forecasts a drop of 13.6 percent in current profit, based on 654 companies, excluding financial companies and utilities. Despite Monday's drop, few analysts say they expected the Nikkei to crumble. Most believe it will find support around the low for this year, the close of 16,598.15 on April 9, which was 57 percent below its peak in December 1989. "Negative psychology, the drop in share prices and real estate values is making things seem worse than they are," said Waldie Thiessen, head of research at Credit Lyonnais Securities, concluding that the market is fairly valued between 16,500 and 17,000. But Mr. Rawle saw further weakness. "I wouldn't be surprised if the market goes down another one to two thousand points," he said. "I think 15,000 is a possibility." The ratio of stock prices to book value is now around 2.0, Mr. Rawle said. Another 10 percent fall in stock prices would bring the ratio near the low of 1.7 reached just after the first oil shock in 1974. Still, Mr. Rawle said he did not think the Japanese economic situation was as bad today as it was in 1974, and noted that the market's price to book ratio has not been below 2.0 since 1974. A strategist with Lehman Brothers, Michael Morizumi, said the market faced "further consolidation" because of the disappointing business confidence report. He also said he believed that there was "no prospect of stimulative action in the near future." In a related development, a report showed that debt arising from corporate bankruptcies in May totaled 633.18 billion yen (\$5 billion), up 33 percent from the same month a year earlier. But the data from the Tokyo Commerce & Industry Research Co. showed that corporate bankruptcy debt was down 35.2 percent from April. (Bloomberg, Reuters, AFP)

Investor's Asia table with columns for Hong Kong Hang Seng, Singapore Straits Times, Tokyo Nikkei 225, and various regional indices with their respective values and changes.

Bank of Tokyo to Bail Out Broker

TOKYO — Bank of Tokyo Ltd. has agreed to provide management and capital support to Daiwani Securities Co., which has been hard-hit by the protracted stock market slump, the small brokerage said Monday. Daiwani, capitalized at 2 billion yen (\$15.8 billion), posted a current loss of 2.31 billion yen for the year ended March 31. It said it plans to increase its capital through allocation of new stock to a third party with the support of Bank of Tokyo, a major shareholder of Daiwani. Daiwani said it would appoint Yoshiaki Arai, a former BOJ official who is managing director of Sanyo Securities Co., as president. Daiwani said it wanted BOT to send staff to the brokerage and accept new shares. "It seems to me that the BOT reluctantly agreed to provide support to Daiwani at a time when the securities industry is in a serious depression," one banking industry source said.

Bombay Brokers Boycott Trading

BOMBAY — Brokers here said they boycotted trading on Monday because several companies refused to transfer shares sold by Harshad Mehta, the central figure in India's biggest financial scandal, whose assets have been frozen. "Saying 'we're on strike, we can't do business,' a Bombay Stock Exchange director, Kirtikumar Parikh, called on the government 'to issue orders clearing the transfer of the shares to the names of buyers.'" He said the shares had been sold by Mr. Mehta and his allies before May 14. Mr. Mehta's offices were raided by the Central Bureau of Investigation the next day. Although his holdings were frozen, the CBI agreed to release shares, or cash, for transactions done before May 14. The CBI has arrested Mr. Mehta and 10 others, five of them bankers, over the \$1 billion scandal and charged them with criminal conspiracy and fraud.

Pfizer's Go-It-Alone Gamble in Japan Finally Pays Off

TOKYO — When Pfizer Inc., the U.S. drug company, arrived to set up shop in Japan in the early 1950s, its most urgent need was for a Japanese partner to guide it through the country's labyrinthine distribution system. Thirty years down the road, Pfizer was ready to go it alone. The company bought out its Japanese partner, Taito, in 1983 to take sole control of management and profits. For Pfizer and many other foreign companies, the successful path into the world's second-largest consumer market has been through capable Japanese partners. But Pfizer, maker of the trade names Visine, Plax and Ben Gay and the ninth-largest diversified drug company in the United States, has shown it can pay to break off the partnership once the know-how has been absorbed. "There's a long learning curve," said James Williams, executive assistant to the president of Pfizer Pharmaceuticals Inc. "As the knowledge flowed back into the company, we gained the experience to take direct control of the sales networks." The original joint venture that gave Pfizer its foothold, Taito Pfizer, was set up in 1955 with Taito, a food and drug company affiliated with trading company Mitsubishi & Co. The venture was profitable from the outset and growth was rapid. "We've certainly benefited from the relationship" with Taito, said Mr. Williams. Many senior executives with the parent company began their careers with Taito or Taito Pfizer. Of its 2,894 employees in Japan, "less than 10 of these are non-Japanese," he said. That gives Pfizer an instant rapport with customers possible only with a Japanese sales and support staff, without the added overhead of overseas postings. Officials in the mergers and acquisitions departments of a leading Japanese bank and brokerage, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Pfizer will soon take another important step in its campaign for market penetration. Its Schneider subsidiary, which specializes in catheters for use in angioplasty surgery, will buy out its Japanese distributor. The acquisition of Koshin Medical by Schneider will be for roughly \$23 million. International marriages like that of Pfizer and Koshin are likely to increase over the next few years as foreign companies, stymied by Japan's tangled distribution system, take advantage of regulatory reforms and lower stock and real estate prices to buy into existing networks, said Hiroo Watanabe, general manager of mergers and acquisitions at Yamachi Securities. Mr. Williams said Pfizer had "looked at the numbers for some of the top 20" drug wholesalers in Japan but shelved the idea of a major acquisition for now. "The ratios make it very difficult to justify acquisition of a serious company," he said. "We're looking at doubling in size in the next 15 years and that's enough to manage" without negotiating a major purchase. Pfizer began acquiring equity from Taito in the 1970s and completed its acquisition in 1983.

Very briefly:

- Cycle & Carriage Ltd., the Singapore car distributor, and its partner, Hotel Properties Ltd., sealed their takeover of Malaysian Credit Ltd. by acquiring their target of 85 percent of MCL's issued share capital.
• Jasmine International Co. and Loxley (Bangkok) Co.'s joint venture was chosen by a Thai government panel to install 1 million telephone lines in the provinces; Northern Telecom Ltd. and Alcatel NV will be suppliers.
• Minolta Camera Co. had a group current loss of 15.78 billion yen (\$124.8 million) in the year that ended March 31, after a 2.21 billion yen loss a year earlier; it expects to have a 5 billion yen loss this year.
• Koo Group, the Taiwan business group, plans to sell its 33 percent stake in Mandarin Airlines, an airline formed last year.
• Berjaya Group Bhd. said one of its units would sell a 10-story office tower at the KL Plaza in Kuala Lumpur to Prudential Assurance Bhd. for 35 million ringgit (\$13.9 million); another unit will buy three floors at the Nagaria complex from Nural Enterprise Sdn. for 9.37 million ringgit.
• Leader Universal Holding Bhd. of Malaysia has submitted an official offer to shareholders of Federal Cables, Wires & Metals Manufacturing Bhd. in its takeover bid. Ekram Bhd. and Sapura Holdings Sdn. are competing with Leader but have not submitted official offers.

AMEX Monday's Closing

Table with columns for High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, 1991 High, Low, P/B, Chg. listing various stocks and their performance.

Table with columns for High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, 1991 High, Low, P/B, Chg. listing various stocks and their performance.

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# SPORTS NBA FINAL

## Bulls Keep Title — the Hard Way

By David Aldridge  
*Washington Post Service*

**CHICAGO** — They are a different kind of champion, these Chicago Bulls. They do things the hard way, and don't seem to want it any other way. Playing at home, they were down by 17 points in the Portland Trail Blazers in the second half, only to rally in the fourth quarter with every conceivable player other than Michael Jordan on the court to win Game 6 by 97-93 and defend their National Basketball Association championship, four games to two.

### Bench Rallies Champions Past Blazers in 6th Game

could make things happen. Maybe I could make a difference." And in the final six minutes, Jordan scored 12 of his game-high 33 points, including the two that tied the score and the two that put Chicago ahead with less than four minutes to play.

"And when the crowd got behind them, they were able to get into the flow and it was really tough to stop them."  
"When the game was on the line, the Bulls turned the intensity up and took control," said Portland's coach, Rick Adelman. "We played an excellent game for three quarters, but then we got caught out of sync on offense, we got tired and couldn't hold them off."  
The Bulls fell behind by nine points early in the second quarter, but came back while Jordan was on the bench. Pippen sandwiched five points around a lay-up by Jerome Kersey and Bill Cartwright's turnaround following a Portland offensive foul, bringing Chicago to 32-28 with 7:23 left in the half.

of 11 straight points. Drexler's fast-break dunk off Terry Porter's steal gave Portland a 10-point lead; the next time down, Drexler's drive through the lane put the Blazers up by 40-28. Chicago lost the ball again — its 11th turnover of the half. After a Chicago time-out, Buck Williams's three-point play put the Bulls in a 15-point hole with four minutes to go before halftime.

They countered with the best player in the world.

Jordan scored 10 points in the next 2:29, beginning his run after two free throws by Pippen. Jordan sank two of his own and, after Porter's 3-pointer kept Portland up by 14, Jordan drilled a jumper from right of the key.

Then he came up with a steal at the other end, and wound up open for a 3-pointer at 2:28, closing the Bulls to 46-37. A little more than a minute later, he was there for another 3-pointer after Pippen rebounded a miss by John Paxson.

That made it a six-point game.

Still, Portland kept Chicago from getting closer before the half, taking a 50-44 lead into the break.

The Trail Blazers were in charge, 79-64, at the end of the third period, in which they grew to 17 points.

But Chicago rallied to start the fourth quarter, and things quickly began to unravel for Portland.

Reserve guard Hansen began the shredding with a 3-point and, after a free throw by King, Pippen posted up Drexler, who couldn't guard him closely because of foul trouble, to make it 79-70.

Cliff Robinson came across the lane for two for Portland, but King dropped in two more free throws and Pippen again posted up Drexler to make it 81-74 with 10 minutes left. After Drexler double dribbled, Armstrong's baseliner with 9:13 remaining made it a five-point game.

Buck Williams was called for an offensive foul at the other end, and another two free throws King drew Chicago to 81-78 with 8:36 left. The Blazers called their third time-out of the quarter.

All of this happened with Jordan on the bench.

Jordan became the second player to be twice voted MVP of both the regular season and the final — Larry Bird of the Boston Celtics did so in 1984 and 1986 — but the first to win both awards in consecutive years.



Michael Jordan took the low road around Kevin Duckworth but stood tall when it counted.

### SIDELINES

#### German Official Quits Over Ruling on Krabbe

BONN (Reuters) — Günther Emig, head of the legal commission of the German Athletics Federation that overturned a four-year ban on double world sprint champion Katrin Krabbe in April, resigned in a letter last week, the federation's general secretary, Jan Kern, said Monday. Kern said Emig accused the D.L.V. executive body of not backing the legal commission ruling as Krabbe's case waits for settlement by the International Amateur Athletic Federation.

#### Becker Fires Smid

LONDON (AP) — Boris Becker has fired his Czechoslovakian coach, Tomas Smid, just a week before the start of Wimbledon.

#### For the Record

Rick Bowens was named Monday the coach of the NHL expansion Ottawa Senators, a week after being fired by the Boston Bruins. (AP) Jay Haas won the St. Jude Classic golf tournament in Memphis, Tennessee, by three strokes over Dan Forsman and Robert Gomez. (AP) Anne-Marie Fallis of France, with a 2-foot birdie on the first playoff hole, beat Laura Davies of the United States in the LPGA Classic in Somers Point, New Jersey. (AP) Hiroki Koba of Japan, with a unanimous decision over Kim Bong Jun of South Korea, retained his WBA junior flyweight title Monday night in Osaka. (AP)

### Looting and Violence Mar Celebration Of Bulls' Second Straight NBA Crown

The Associated Press

CHICAGO — Violence and looting broke out as fans filled the streets to celebrate the Chicago Bulls' victory, the city's second consecutive National Basketball Association championship.

disperse a crowd of hundreds. Some shopkeepers sprayed fire extinguishers to keep people away from their doors.

The police were pelted with bottles and cans. Windows on at least 30 Chicago Transit Authority buses were smashed as they drove their routes, said a coordinator. No passengers or drivers were reported injured.

The police began going door to door to close taverns at the North Side celebration around 11 P.M., five hours early. Mounted police worked to clear the streets. Some fans later walked to nearby stores where they broke out windows and looted.

A thousand police officers were put on duty, and bars were asked to use plastic cups to keep glass off the streets. But the crowds swelled to thousands less than an hour after the Bulls won at Chicago Stadium on the West Side.

Chicago Bulls' victory, the city's second consecutive National Basketball Association championship. About 750 people had been arrested, according to a 4 A.M. count, and a police official said he expected the number to reach 1,000 by the time the police were done processing those arrested.

Looting was reported from the tony downtown Michigan Avenue to a four-block strip of stores on the West Side. Two people were critically burned when looters set fire to a liquor store on the South Side, police and hospital officials said.

A police officer handling crowd control was hospitalized after being shot in the foot. A second officer was shot in the calf, a spokeswoman said Sunday night. He was treated for the wound but not hospitalized. At least 300 people were arrested, the spokeswoman said, and several other policemen were injured.

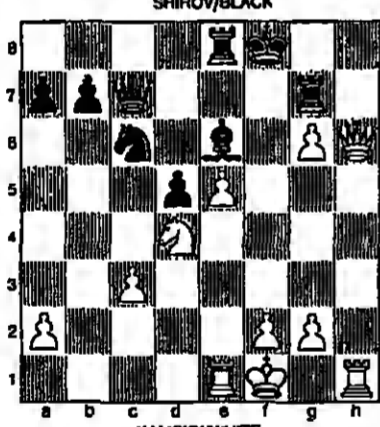
It was the first professional title won at home by a Chicago team since 1963, when the Bears beat the New York Giants for the National Football League championship at Wrigley Field.

Looters broke into a number of businesses along a West Side commercial strip as police tried to

### CHESS

By Robert Byrne

IN the elite Dortmund International Tournament, in Germany, which finished at the end of April, the 17-year-old United States champion, Gata Kamsky of New York, succeeded with a vigorous mating attack against the 19-year-old Latvian grandmaster Aleksei Shirov, in the seventh round.



Position after 25... Kf8

What looked as though it was heading for a Semi-Slav Defense became a Queen's Gambit Declined, Orthodox Defense, after the exchange 5 d ed.

started to attack the black king with 13 h4!?

On 7...g6, Black's intention is to answer 8 e3 by 8...Bf5 and achieve a smooth development. In the last few years, however, White has worked to subvert that plan by playing 8 e4? de 9 Bf6 Bf6 10 Qe4 Qe7 11 Be4. It is true that a game between Boris Guiklo and Artur Yusupov in Munich 1990 ended in an early draw after 11...O-O 12 O-O Bf5 13 Qe4 Qe4, yet the black position does not seem secure here after 14 Ne5!?

Perhaps Shirov should have tried to break the grip of the white pieces against his king by thrusting 13...c4, but even then, after 14 Be2 Bf5 15 Qd2, the black king is out safe.

After 9 e5, it would have been wrong to play 9...Bf7? because 10 e1 Bc2 11 fe Re3 12 Kd2 will yield White three minor pieces for a queen with a vastly superior position.

Kamsky ignored the bold 13...cd to press his onslaught with 14 h5! which threatened to blast the black king with 15 hg h6 Bg6! Shirov sacrificed a pawn with 14...g5 15 Bh7 in the hope of keeping kingside lines as closed as possible under the circumstances.

His 11 Bd3 virtually forced Shirov to strengthen the white center with 11...Nc3 12 bc and on 12...c5, he ambitiously

Kamsky renewed his piece sacrifice with 18 Qd2 and Shirov had nothing better than to take it with 18...fg and let Kamsky activate a rook with 19 hg.

After 22 Be7, there was no hope on 22...Qe5 23 Kf1 Re7 24 Re1 Qf6 25 Re6 Re6 26 Ne6 Qe5 27 Qh6 Qf6 28 Qh7 Kf8 29 Qh8 Qh8 30 Rb8 Kg7 31 Ra8.

Queen's Gambit Declined

Accepting the offer with 16...fg 17 hg would have fueled the American's attack.

For example, 17...Kg8 18 Bg5! Bg7 19 Qe7 Kf7 20 Qd7 Re7 21 Qe5 Re6 22 Ng5 Kd7 23 Qf Kd6 24 Rb6 Kb5 25 Rd6 is annihilating. Moreover, 17...Bf6 could encounter the killing 18 Bb8 Kg8 19 g7! Bg7 20 Bg7 Kg7 21 Rb7 Kf8 22 Qg6.

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Queen's Gambit Declined

White Black Kamsky Shirov

Table with chess move notations for White and Black.

### BOOKS

#### GHOST WOMAN

By Lawrence Thornton. 302 pages. \$19.95. Ticknor & Fields, 215 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10003.

Reviewed by Bruce Brown

ONE OF the most interesting developments in American fiction over the last several decades has been the emergence of a new kind of coastal western in which two dogies are punched, nary a sidewinder slaps leather, and discouraging words are heard.

This boisterous, regionally flavored literature includes Don Berry's "Trask," Ivan Doig's "The Sea Runners," Annie Dillard's "The Living" (just published), and our "Ghost Woman" by Lawrence Thornton.

None is more ambitious than "Ghost Woman." Thornton has set himself a massive, multidimensional task spanning generations and cultures. Part historical fiction, part pagan invocation, "Ghost Woman" paints a picture powerful enough to freeze a look of terror on the face of the Catholic priest, Fra Santos, who starts the saga so hopefully.

"Ghost Woman" is based on an old legend involving an Indian woman from the island of San Nicholas off the California coast. When Spanish authorities forced the woman's tribe to leave the island during the 19th century, she jumped off the boat into the sea. Swimming ashore, she lived on the desolate island for years until Fra Santos organized an expedition to bring her to the mission at Santa Cruz.

The woman was pressed into the archbishop as an example of Christ's compassion and concern for each solitary soul.

Before long, though, she was raped and impregnated by the Yankee captain whose boat brought her off the island. The woman, called Soledad, hanged herself after the child of this union was taken from her, but that's really just the beginning of the story. The crime of possession — at once literal, symbolic, sexual and otherworldly — continues to mark the lives of the people who know the mission at Santa Cruz and Christianity.

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Too often, however, "Ghost Woman" feels like a forced march. Thornton gives the impression he has a lot of ground to cover, and time's awasting. The plot seems to arise from the needs of the author's scheme as much as from the living, breathing needs of the characters. Much of the prose becomes incoherent.

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Still, I admire Lawrence Thornton for "Ghost Woman." He has attempted a bold stroke, prodigious and vast, seeking magic in hard-eyed realism.

Bruce Brown, whose most recent book is "Dr. Whacko's Guide to Slow-Pitch Softball," a novel, wrote this for The Washington Post.

### PEANUTS



IT'S RAINING!

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HOW DO I KNOW YOUR IDEAS ARE GREAT?

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WE COUGHT THIS MAN PRAYING HUGE BISHOPASSES ON YOUR CHILDREN POSTERS

Table with sports statistics for Sweden, France, East Germany, West Germany, and Denmark.

Table with sports statistics for Semifinals and Final.

Table with sports statistics for First Round Match.

Table with sports statistics for Semifinals.

Table with sports statistics for Final.

Table with sports statistics for American League.

Table with sports statistics for National League.

Table with sports statistics for American League.

Table with sports statistics for National League.

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PEOPLE

ART BUCHWALD
Keeper of the Secrets

WASHINGTON — There are two reasons why the government refuses to make its documents available to the public. One is to protect the national security of the United States, and the other is to protect the butts of the officials responsible for the national security of the United States.

Because of the second reason a large staff, occupying the entire second floor of the State Department, is entrusted with seeing that nothing gets out of the building that could make anyone in the administration look stupid.

Buchwald

Peter Ridder is the chief keeper of the United States' awful secrets. Our task is to ensure that once one is embarrassed by idiotic decisions, dumb calculations, faulty intelligence or diplomatic arrogance made while serving at the pleasure of the president.

"Your office must have to work 24 hours a day to do that," I said. "We're the only section of the State Department whose budget has been increased. Between Irangate and Iraqgate, we've had to put one finger in the dike after another."

"By that, do you mean that you've managed to keep top-secret papers out of the hands of the traitors in Congress who could damage the country?"

"We have, but it's not as easy as it sounds. We can't refuse to turn over papers to congressional committees. But we can damn well slow them down."

Painting by Veronese
Damaged at the Louvre

PARIS — The famous 16th-century painting "Marriage at Cana" by Paolo Veronese was accidentally damaged in five places while Louvre Museum experts were rehanging the huge masterpiece, officials said Monday.

The damage will require a re-mounting, museum officials said.

A Marriage That Went Into Lawbooks

By David Margolick
New York Times Service

CENTRAL POINT, Virginia — Mildred Loving is now a widow. The marriage that made her famous having ended in tragedy, she remains the same intensely private woman she was a quarter-century ago, when her name entered the lawbooks, and she is reluctant to acknowledge her contribution to the civil rights movement as she once was to participate in it.

In the wee hours of one morning in July 1958, the quiet life that Mrs. Loving and her husband, Richard, enjoyed in this remote hamlet was shattered when three law officers walked into their bedroom and shined a flashlight on the couple. What they saw confirmed what they had been told: Mrs. Loving was black and Mr. Loving white, making their marriage illegal in Virginia.

"What are you doing in bed with this lady?" Sheriff R. Garnett Brooks of Caroline County asked Richard Loving, who was 24 at the time. Loving showed the sheriff their marriage certificate, from the District of Columbia. "That's oo good here," Sheriff Brooks replied. He charged the couple with unlawful cohabitation, carted them into nearby Bowling Green and threw them into the county jail.

The county circuit judge, Leon M. Bazile, sentenced the Lovings to a year in prison, telling them, "Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, Malay and red, and He placed them on separate continents, and but for the interference with His arrangement there would be no cause for such marriages." But the judge offered the Lovings a deal: They could go free as long as they promised to steer clear of Virginia, at least as man and wife, for the next 25 years.

After several years of unhappy exile in Washington, the Lovings challenged Virginia's 1924 anti-miscegenation statute. And 25 years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that laws barring interracial marriage in Virginia and 15 other states were unconstitutional.

To civil libertarians, the decision eliminated one of the last legal vestiges of slavery. "The Loving case represents a judicial recognition of the sanctity of marriage and the ability of people irrespective of race to enjoy the protections of the Constitution in their choice of mates," said Philip T. Nash, a Fairfax, Virginia, legal historian who has written on the case.

Central Point now is little more than a scattering of simple homes, a boarded-up general store and St. Steven's Baptist Church, which recently gave Mrs. Loving its "human rights award."

The Supreme Court's decision, which



Mildred Loving at her Bowling Green, Virginia, home, with her husband in 1967, after the Supreme Court ruling.

Mrs. Loving said she never read, allowed her husband and their three young children, who were considered illegitimate under the law, to live in Virginia in peace and to begin building the simple white Cinderella house in which Mrs. Loving still lives, just down the road from where the sheriff and his deputies roused them.

There are now a million interracial couples in the United States, including several in and around Central Point. Moreover, the newest member of the Supreme Court, Justice Clarence Thomas, is a black man married to a white woman.

"I was acting according to the law at the time, and I still think it should be on the books," said Sheriff Brooks, on the porch of his home in Bowling Green. "I don't think a white person should marry a black person. I'm from the old school. The Lord made sparrows and robins, not to mix with one another."

Sheriff Brooks said he had rarely pondered the case in the last 35 years. "If they'd been outstanding people, I would have thought something about it," he said. "But with the caliber of those people, it didn't matter. They were both low-class."

Richard Loving, who was killed in an automobile accident in 1975, and Mildred Jeter, who grew up near each other, attended different churches and schools, but their families were friendly, and when he

was 17 and she was 11, they began courting. But when thoughts turned to marriage, the statute stood in the way.

Virginia's anti-miscegenation statute had gone through several revisions. In one, "white person" was defined as someone who "has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian," with a special exemption aimed at protecting descendants of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, the 17th-century Virginia planter who married the Indian woman. Conversely, "Negro" was defined in various versions as a person with one-eighth Negro blood, one-fourth Negro blood or "any trace of Negro blood."

Thus, when the Lovings decided to marry in June 1958, they went to Washington. After the raid, the two lived separately with their parents until January 1959, when Judge Bazile offered them exile as an alternative to incarceration.

"Each one of them came to Caroline separately to visit his or her people as often as they please," he ruled. The couple moved to Washington.

It was at that time that Richard Loving's cousin suggested she write the attorney general of the United States. "I was crying the blues all the time, so she said, 'Why don't you write Robert Kennedy?'" she recalled. "She said that's what he's there for." Kennedy told the Lovings to contact the American Civil Liberties

Union, which placed two lawyers from Alexandria, Virginia, Philip Hirschkop and Bernard S. Cohen, on the case.

The two men paid a price for their part in legal history. There were cold shoulders from some disapproving bar colleagues, anonymous telephone calls, disparaging references to "two Jew lawyers" in the Ku Klux Klan newspaper and sugar dumped into the gasoline tanks of family cars.

From 1963 until 1967 the case bounced around the courts. In March 1966 the Virginia Supreme Court upheld the law. Then the matter went to the Supreme Court.

Cohen, now a member of Virginia's House of Delegates, recalled how, before oral arguments, he explained various constitutional doctrines to Richard Loving.

"That stuff don't mean nothing to me," Loving told him. "Mr. Cohen, tell the Court I love my wife, and it is just unfair that I can't live with her in Virginia."

Peggy Loving Fortune, at 32 the youngest of the Lovings' three children, is married to a man of mixed parentage. By challenging the law, she said, her parents had made things "a whole lot easier" for people of such backgrounds. "I'm very proud of them," she said. "To me, they set the world free to be with whomver they want. I feel it's that they were put on this earth for, that God used them to do what they did."

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